* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

*[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

/169 cont./

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It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46)

> 46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors red and yellow, and another for green and blue.

there is only one term, soãse, to indicate orange, red and yellow, and another, ya'sasé, for green and blue, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

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• 534

As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a shrill one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called de Pã or carĩço, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly.

*[192]

/Page 170 in the original text is blank./

*192 /208 cont./
524 bees, mumĩ-pesé (40).

40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wãx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõsamim (Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wãx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacuris (see VII -- 4, e (2)), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõãkã... táro-kõãkã (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (õxsã wexsé-põ yãra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yãra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mãxsã hẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! õxsã hẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

524 With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a
• 534 flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

177 They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba;
524 the spinning top, bextága, using the nut of the tucumã and others.
*[192] More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

/255 cont./

202

/footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

*192 202 • 534 [832]

With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pêru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pêru... pêru... pêru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "afiunõ nĩgosa" (be good), "afiũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtĩ-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

202 [123]

They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

142
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756

Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

-/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797]

21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

[533]
[534]
[126]
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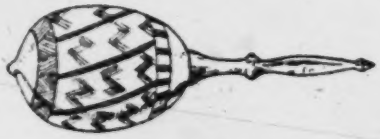
22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/274 cont./

755 often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), re-
[533] garded as a magic instrument.
[534]



[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic
[753] cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses,
731 epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
• 534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
[177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[147] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
[562] dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since
756 one paje is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f)), this explains the fact of hearing the
[184] same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwâke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

• [534] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their
[755] songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/301 cont./
534 Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

[177]

55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:
535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ, plural ahũ-pawõ. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

[192]

[531]

/302 cont./

• 534 535 *[192] *[192] [531]

2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192]

4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755]

Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/303 cont./

• 534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxirí, the drum, in Tukano twá-tõ, plural twáthe-pawõ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tõ pa:-kõ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. -- Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and, with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accompaniment, or contracanto. They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanÿã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

*[192]

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound

[535] of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, a (4)) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him; in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-
*[192] wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

[184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanĩna and Kubẽwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/304 cont./

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• 534

3rd. -- Bone flute. In Nheengatú it is known as membí, and in Tukano as way-kõ o'ɨ, or also puxtirí o'ɨ. It is a flute 15 to 20 centimeters long, made out of the bone of an animal's tibia, with three orifices longitudinally, similar to our flutes, and one upper one, vertically, through which it is blown, this orifice being partially plugged with breu /a substance like pitch/, so that the air enters in suitable intensity and direction. It takes different names, according to the name of the animal whose tibia was used: nãmá o'ɨ (deer bone), yaí o'ɨ (onça /jaguar/ bone) etc.

[535] During the dances this flute will always be decorated with a string of Coleoptera carapaces of different colors. The men hold the instrument with the right hand in some /305/ dance numbers and make it sound intermittently, like a whistle, in the intervals of the songs.

4th. -- Cutia /agouti/ flute. This would be the translation of the Tukano name bwá-wõ, pl. bwá-pawõ, because bwá means cutia (small rodent, dasyprócta agutí). It is a small fife of taboca, 20 to 30 centimeters long, decorated with colorful feathers.

[535] There is a dance that is called bwá-baxsá, in which all the men carry this fife in their right hands. At given moments the singing stops, and each one makes his own instrument sound, like a simple whistle, but rhythmically. At a certain point some fling their fife to the ground, but recover it afterwards, making it sound anew. The dance is concluded with a stronger and more prolonged whistle.

5th. -- Caramujo. In Tukano it is called sɨ̃'ɨ̃. It is a whistle that is obtained from the caramujo /a snail/. An old native stated that this same name formerly also designated a fife of taquara or taboca, with an orifice in the center that is applied to the nose in order to emit the sound, and the extremities are obturated with the fingers. This is an instrument that many of the new generation do not know.

/305 cont./

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• 534

6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtĩ-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

[832]

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835]

8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsã (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835]

In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutĩ. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutĩ /land turtle/, from which comes the name, ũhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

/306 cont./

• 534
522 We saw that the man, upon sounding this instrument, would go backwards until, as a joke, he bumped against the women, who went away amidst laughter.

*192
534 10th. -- Deer head. In Tukano it is called fiamá dõxpõ-á. It consists precisely of the head of a deer, the various orifices having been obturated with breu, except one, on the upper part between the horns, through which one blows. They use this instrument to announce the caxirí, and the sound tries to imitate precisely the words: pẽru wá:tya (bring caxirí), which is repeated several times, and ends with the repetition: kero, kero, kero (quickly, quickly, quickly).

11th. -- Ocarina. In Nheengatú toré; in Tukano uxpítu, pl. uxpítu-pá. It is an instrument of baked clay, which resembles the ocarina, and which they blow on the road, when they are going to the dabacurí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

12th. -- Juruparí. In Tukano it is called mĩrĩ (Uaupés mĩhĩ). It is the mysterious instrument. This is tubes of paxiúba covered by the liber of chibarú (epérua grandíflora), rolled up in a spiral, with two sticks that emerge like horns from the upper end and by which it is held to be blown. According to the length, which varies from 80 centimeters to 1.50 meters, and the diameter from 6 to 10 centimeters, the sound will be like that of a trombone or, deeper, like that of a bass.

mĩrĩ (juruparí)

/306 cont./

• 534 There are four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2)) the belief that the mῖrῖa are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahῖ (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arῦtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-i'sῖ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradriídea).

[115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: i'tῖ or mẽ'nẽ-i'sῖ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/307 cont./

*192 • 534 way, instead of poxsõ, makú; and they explained why, that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the jurupari); 3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoã (kingfisher); 4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩrĩã, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanĩna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩrĩã loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3)).

4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 [115] The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer of the native music (58),

> 58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

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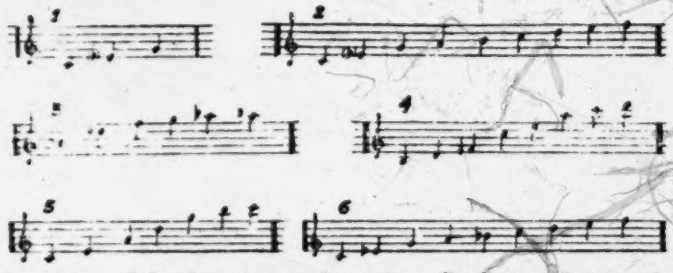
"The first three tubes (of the Panpipe) always give a chord most of the time major and once in a while minor, the first three tubes giving the result:



1. Notes of the first three tubes; 2. wãnyã-pa (of nine tubes);
3. yõrõrí-pa (of six tubes); 4. puxtirí-pa (of eight tubes);
5. wéõ-pa (of seven tubes); 6. yõtirí-pa (of nine tubes).

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The other tubes will follow with more variety. There is a small flute, which they call wãnỹã-pa, with nine tubes, the notes of which are the following (2 supra):

The other one with which they answer the thicker tubes, or vice versa, takes the name of yõtiri-pa (yõti, they answer).

The tonalities will of course vary with the variation of the measurements. These will depend on the measurement adopted for the largest tube, and also on its manufacturer, because they are measured by the phalanges of their fingers. The difference in size between the first and second tube corresponds to the first two phalanges of the index finger; between the second and third tube, and between the latter and the fourth, to the first phalanx of the index finger; between the fourth and the fifth, only a half a phalanx; between the other tubes only the tip of the index finger.

It should be noted that, starting with the third tube, the diameter decreases. This rule holds for the small type wanyã-pa.

They prepare, moreover, a small flute of six tubes, which they call yõrõrí-pa and is played alone, that is, without contracanto.

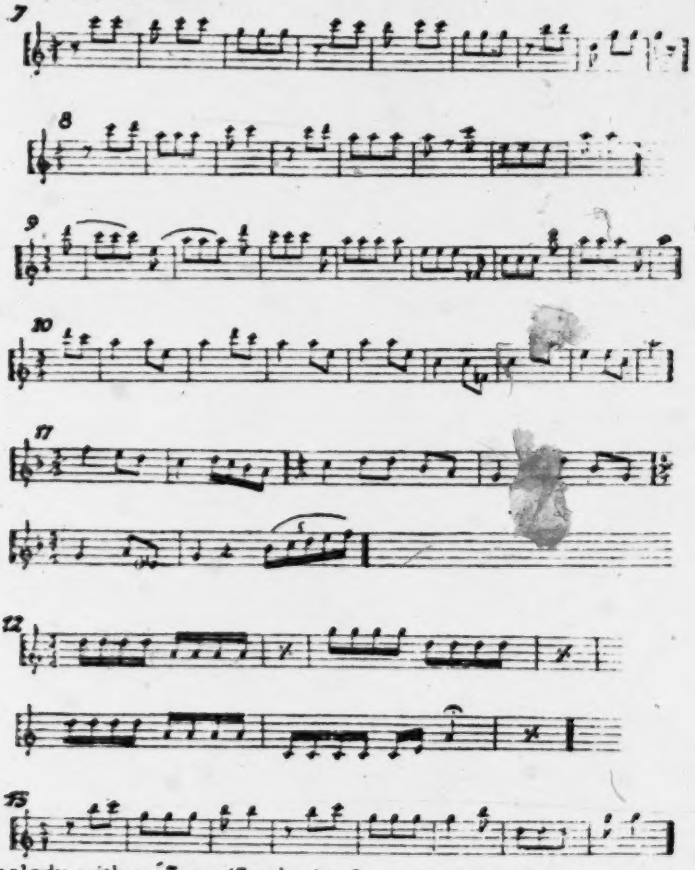
One of them gave the following notes (3 supra):

With longer tubes they manufacture various types of flutes, one called wéõ-pa, another, puxtirí-pa.

The same ones blown in the thicker tubes, or vice versa, serve as contracanto and in this case are also called yõtirí-pa.

/308 cont./

533
• 534 Two of them, compared with the harmonium, and which were used for playing the melodies below, gave the following notes (4 and 5 supra): /The final quotation marks for the quotation that begins at the top of p. 451 are missing in the original source./

533 /309/ The same informant furnished the following melodies, chosen among the easiest ones of the native repertoire, to be adapted to the bar:

[192] 7. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 8. melodic variation with the instrument of 8 tubes; 9. melody with puxtirí-pa (8 tubes); 10. another melody with that of 8 tubes; 11. melody with the yõtirí-pa (9 tubes); 12. melody with wéõ-pa (7 tubes); 13. another melody with wéõ-pa.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-rí baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. [177] Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

• [534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] [177] [304] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 • 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/315 cont./

*192 237 • 534 535 2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 [178] n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grũnberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

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[192]
[534]

/336 cont./

Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsã, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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[124]
[177]
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Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

*192
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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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/Illustrations facing p. 337 in the original source/

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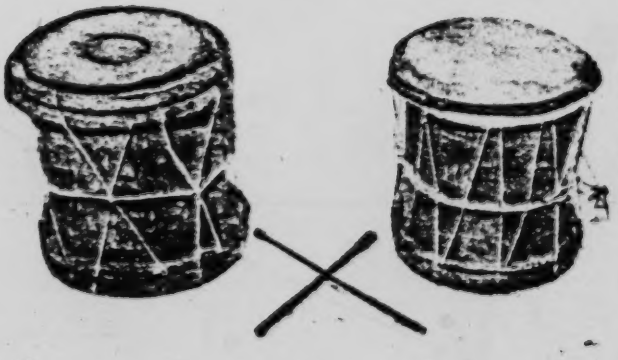
Panpipes; bone flutes (onça /jaguar/ and deer); jabuti /turtle/ (úhuri) in the center

Ocarinas (uxpitu-pa)



Drums (twáthe-pawõ) and drumsticks (twá-tõ pat-kõ)

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/337 cont./

Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as mĩrĩ, which means drowned, immersed, hidden under the water (44).

> 44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their original matriarchalism. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does Wĩx-tĩ appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument Mĩrĩ. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the natives immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water.

[481]

778 Hence the concept of occult, sacred. We have heard talk of objects that were mĩriá, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it
778 is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this
[855] reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

/342 cont./

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[123]

/footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

• [534] the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48)

[115]

48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

*[192]

and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oã:, to cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

[562]

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

[574]
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[562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'renõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõó wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

[301] The ornaments are distributed according to the social
[554] importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

• [534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with
*[192] great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance
796 as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/
535 (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c)).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2)).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l));

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

/345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

*[192] [534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m)).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

796 /348/
535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, • [534] c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the [533] ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4) /see
273 1 (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/352 cont./

796 524 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads 796 524 (61).

535

61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man, who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see VII - 3, c (3c)): pêru wã:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

*[192]
[534]

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Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

*192 796 • 534 778 [115]

According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the sacred instruments, or mĩrĩá (juruparís) (62),

> 62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩrĩá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c)), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dabacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

/353 cont./

796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
• 534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.
[192]
[562] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[858] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

[343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriã.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
778 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
562 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
688 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ.
*[192] Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

796 /354 cont./

• 534 They organize the procession of Wãx-tĩ, which will take
778 the offering, as was described above, from the landing place
562 to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine
786 sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front, hanging from the waist, the waxsó-ro (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2)), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The shape of the instrument (65),

*[192]

65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called waxsó-kõ (perhaps from the same root as waxsó, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a). Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of Hipada (Uaupuím-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of Kúay, son of Yaperikuli, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of Kóay, or Wãx-tĩ of the Tukano, and that of the phallus. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a phallus in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of Wãx-tĩ or Kóay.

[532]

the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "Phallustanzen" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

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Indian playing the mĩr̃ĩ (jurupari)

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Always playing the mĩr̃ĩã̀, the men surround the maloca where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door. Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play the mĩr̃ĩã̀. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances. Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during the dances.

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As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115]

105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796]
[302]

As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

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106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmĩ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the [illegible]bow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyó).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
• 534 whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./
• 534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã̄-ká eheanõ-kátyã̄ra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this [562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

533 535 *[192] 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right *[192] broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

• [534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and de- *[192] scending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pãbwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

/399 cont./

*192 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called iffatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõá) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

*192 533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

*192 533 • 534 535 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wihyá). They come back again to the maloca, the women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

*[192]

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 533 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 534 535 With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

[115] 1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá

/401 cont./
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(dance of the cotias /agouti/) (137).

137. A big feast was held in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on the 24th and 25th days of April of 1955, with the participation of about 250 persons of both sexes and of all ages and representatives of various tribes, especially Wanãna, Kubêwana, and Huhúdene (the latter from the Arwáke group, from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana). During this feast the first dance numbers were to the sound of the bwá. They were small taquara flutes of about 30 centimeters in length by about two in diameter, only one side opening, at about 10 centimeters from the mouthpiece, which was vertical. The lower part of these fifes ended with two small sticks of taquara, with two points or horns (perhaps symbolizing the teeth of the cutia /agouti/). As a decoration on this flute there were two strings of white plumes, tied to the flute by the upper extremity and free at the other extremity. In certain dance numbers some individuals would throw their flute to the ground, picking it up immediately afterwards.

In the interval between the verses or parts, the dancers /402/ sound their flutes. It consists of four parts, that is: 1st) õnõña baxsá (song-dance of the carajurú /carajura/); 2nd) pĩnó baxsá (song-dance of the snake); 3rd) kaxpí baxsá (song-dance of the Caapí); 4th) no-phĩ baxsá (song-dance of the hook for collecting fruits).

2nd Dance -- with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ (in Wanãna wanẽ (138).

138. During this same feast of the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, the rhythm tubes, measuring approximately a meter in length and 10 centimeters in diameter, were painted white (with sorva), having a black lower bar of about 10 centimeters and the handle, by which it is held, decorated with a crest of hawk feathers in the shape of a Greek epsilon.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

/438 cont./

881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183]

64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí. *[192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

• [534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

*[192]

65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions;
otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although
short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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*[192]
[171]
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> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

[115]

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secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine-man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

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769 171 [114] by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kúwai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are [241] quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano In- [881] dians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, [184] the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and [552] agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cágaba (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1938), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may 769 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and 534 a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic 194 whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among 534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuiw*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekâpwẽnwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing.

1. *Emíhehika* (also known as *haraibipobũ*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwâhũnku* (also known as *Uménahonkũ*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwũ* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwũ* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjũwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

Bwũ and *Onpwénda kûdjũwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekũ* (very powerful beings). *Bwũ* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahúkiwa*.

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Uménahonkũ*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*.

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekâpwẽnwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekóhũ* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekâpwẽnwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekâpwẽnwa*.

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534 women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekũpwänwa* to
[788] the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears
[793] about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she
[828] dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is
[754] felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

769
796 The *Bekũpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

[561] As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúküdjauwũ*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjüwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

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796 be whipped violently to the center of the dance floor. He chose an eight-year-old boy, his own son. Normally the most amiable of men, he glowered at the boy, and in a harsh voice commanded him to stand straight, his legs together and his arms above his head. The little boy solemnly obeyed. The father faced his son, poised his whip for the first blow, and waited while the dancers circled them once, sounding the ancestor horns. When the dancers had completed one turn, the man inserted the switch in the far end of the horn and stirred it about to "draw from it the power of *Bwü*." He then struck the boy across the loins with such force that the child ran screaming down the corridor toward the door. His father ran after him and without a word dragged him back. The first blow across the loins left a bloody scar on the boy's abdomen and was to impart sexual vigor, which resides inside the horn. The boy's paternal uncle stepped forward and rolled the second *Bwü* horn along the child's back, starting at the calves and rolling it up to the head. This was to impart growth of stature, that resides on the outside of the horn. The boy had now regained his composure, and his father brought him a calabash of chicha. His father whipped him a second time, in the same way, and this time the boy controlled his fright, emitting only a gasp of pain as the whip lashed across his abdomen, raising a second welt. Again the uncle rolled the horn up the back. His father gave him a second calabash of chicha and the boy returned to his place on the bench, where he displayed his scars to his companions, composed and grinning from ear to ear.

[534] Next to be initiated was the son of the headman's sister, the boy who was not of the sib. The same man did the whipping, using not *Bwü* but *Onpwénda*, the least powerful of the three ancestors they were invoking. I concluded that a father would naturally initiate his own son with the most powerful and the very first of the ancestors, while saving the least potent for his cross nephew. When I mentioned
[182] this to the man he assured me I was wrong, explaining that it made
[614] no difference who was whipped with which ancestor since their blessings went not to any one person, but to all being initiated as well as to the sib as a whole. The important thing, he said, was not to neglect an ancestor who had been brought to the house. I am inclined to accept this explanation with some skepticism, because the Indians always deny inequality as a matter of courtesy, but they recognize it nonetheless. When informants discussed *Bahúkiwa* ancestors in general terms they all agreed that it was best to be whipped by *Bwü* because "he is the strongest."

This boy was exceedingly apprehensive. Before the first blow

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the 796
origin traditions. 184

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One 769
man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a
horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another 796
gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the 178
loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the 866
region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through 789
adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned 856
bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective dur- [515]
ing the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplemen- [534]
tary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is [824]
to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also [515]
favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously
shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti presa. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connotations of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic character of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisition of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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The Mourning Ceremony

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *oiwinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

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534 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
114 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
769 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
[773] refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Umênahonkũ*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
[775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub-
[614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual-
[786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimaíwũ*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Mahálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *dyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

yavirdrü yavirdkü [repeated]
yavirdrü maníka
yavirdrü ya
ho ho ho o ho.

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirdkü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yaví*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavirè kavirè* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Mávuyo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yaví*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

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XUDJÍKO AND *XUDJÍKÜ*

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The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *dyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

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[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in 534 ●
the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjíko* and her 769
consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the
initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo [462]
as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies.
Xudjíko, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could
determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjíko* and *Xudjikū* are
constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to ar-
rive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in
the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin
trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated
side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

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The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* 614
is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express [615]
condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy.
Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within [754]
the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their
innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also [535]
appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity.
As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticu-
lous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs
of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undevi-
atingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early,
before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the
dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

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As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and
magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course
with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direc-
tion; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it.
The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest
dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this
way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional
spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the [182]
segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony [614]
in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur- [615]

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765 The host
831 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to
786 the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides.
765 Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
831 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female
786 half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
(857) leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The
• [534] jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, however, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjiko* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dùpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and aramadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations 765
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy

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The first phase of the *öyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

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One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On [535]
the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. [534]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *öyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

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That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been re- 535
stored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaíndüwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
kenadjü marié kenadjü pimári. Periodically a woman dancer screams
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loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 535
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 786
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the [831]
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *öyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853[10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 171 765 184 266

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yavi*. The insect
[125] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcikũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dáwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwa* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Ynpibũ kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*mápena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *mápena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatdnko*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawá* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[5] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[5] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

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instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing – as indeed it is meant to.

A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

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Tukano hunting with blowpipe, bow and arrows.

[See p. 62-A]

/p. 70-B/

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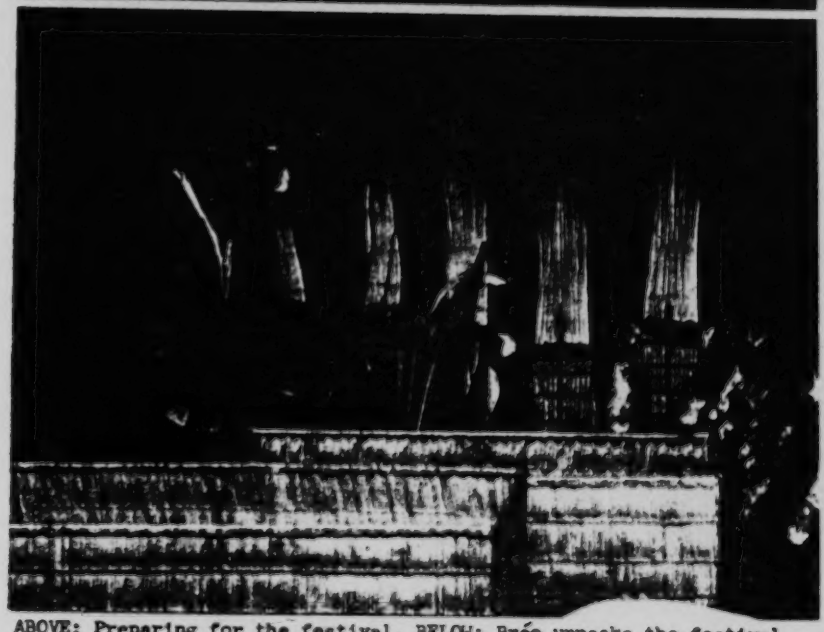

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

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226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 796 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,

533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,

● 534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-

[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long

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can produce a most haunting tune. This tiny flute, the three-holed *sihoo*, is more often played outdoors than inside the house. Its clear rippling notes mingle with the forest calls, perhaps imitating a bird drawn closer and closer to the Indian hunter. The deer-bone flute, in contrast, has a harsh, piercing, eerie sound. It is made from a deer's tibia and three holes are drilled into the bone with a *capybara's* tooth. A little slit is cut into the head of the deer-bone, down which the man blows. Small lumps of beeswax are melted into the apexes and shrill notes come flowing out – bizarre perhaps, but melodious. This instrument is generally heard during the *chicha* ceremonies between the dances. The tortoise shell, too, is an instrument which has a weird, almost hypnotic tone. It is played by a man who squats on the ground with the shell gripped under the knee between thigh and calf muscles. Rapidly he rubs, almost jerks, the palm of his hand over the beeswax-coated head of the shell. Sometimes two men will play two tortoise shells and a pair of panpipes at the same time, and the continuous reverberation of the *goos*, as the tortoise shells are known, together with the syncopation of the panpipes produces an amazing effect. The high muffled tones of the *goos* echo round the *maloca*, driving the Indian's coca-bemused senses into a semi-hypnotic trance. To us this was not an unpleasant sensation and on listening closer we could pick out what was in fact a highly sophisticated rhythm. Each panpipe entered just off beat in an exciting, almost modernistic manner, more reminiscent of a modern jazz quartet than four primeval instruments of the Amazon.

Our recording equipment intrigued the Indians – those small boxes with wheels which turned, lengths of 'string' with weird metal objects on the end, held close to their faces or hung from the ridge poles of their *malocas*. It was all beyond their comprehension. At first they were frightened but once they had listened to their own voices and music, they were astounded and could not wait to hear more. We all too soon found ourselves using as much of our precious battery power to play back as we did to record. Sometimes they were intrigued by Western music – Beethoven piano concertos, Brahms and Gershwin had little effect, but the Bach double violin concerto drew many eager faces, a Haydn trumpet concerto brought smiles of approval and on hearing the Commendatore's deep voice in the last act of *Don Giovanni* the whole *maloca* drew near in wonder. Perhaps this really was the white man's shaman.

We waited four days at Bréo's while the women brought in baskets and baskets of manioc to prepare for *chicha*, and the men pounded coca leaves incessantly. During this time the *maloca* filled with families who had travelled by canoe from their distant forest homes along the winding river courses. Some had already been warned by messengers of the coming festival to celebrate the manioc harvest, but on the afternoon before it started Bréo left for a high knoll of ground, and stood blowing a clay horn – perhaps to warn

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796 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out
• 534 across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their
574 canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the
273 amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they con-
[787] sulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torch-wood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

302 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a
796 seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

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A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

 [see p. 78-A]

/p. 82-A/

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ABOVE LEFT: An Indian taking snuff; round his neck a quartz pendant and a necklace strung with jaguar teeth. ABOVE RIGHT: Boy playing pan-pipes. BELOW: A headman lights a torch of beeswax.

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437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try
562 to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
171 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the
[777] deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

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occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

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At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

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Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

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533 534 171 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 609 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

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Without that small bag you would never reach your destination. The sun would travel many times across the sky before you could return. 000

It is fairly obvious now that in those few weeks in the Piraparaná when we became unduly agitated at the break-down of an engine or the disappearance of our guides, at the delays and frustrations, we had not begun to acquire the philosophical detachment of the Indian.

'When I feel like that,' Horacio would say, 'I just sling my hammock and let the world pass by,' and so saying would proceed to do precisely that. An Indian might have given us the same advice could he have understood the cause of our agitation or the complex mentality of the *civilizado*.

Perhaps if we could recall our childhood impressions before familiarity blunted our senses, before our minds or the pictures or images they formed were channelled along a specific course by what we were taught, before in fact we became specialists, we might understand the way an Indian looks at life – and perhaps even learn something from it.

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